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position and overlapping of Uzbek, Turkmen and Karakalpak in the Khorezm area, and of Uzbek and Turkmen in the area along the eastern frontier of Turkmenia, has produced border dialects which show strong traces of mutual influence, particularly in phonetics. The only sharp 'language frontier' is indeed that between the Kazaks and the Uzbeks — a fact which suggests the social and ethnic divergence between the steppe-dwellers and the more sedentary population of the south. Stock-origins are confused by migration and exchange, but this language frontier today is clear enough. It is not blurred by the existence of small Kazak groups, usually known as Kipchak Uzbeks, on Uzbek linguistic territory within Uzbekistan. The language there has sometimes been mistakenly regarded as the true Uzbek, but is in fact just a Kazak dialect and it is noteworthy that, in spite of the geographical overlap between these people and their Uzbek surroundings, they do not mix or intermarry much with their neighbours, so carrying the language distinction into their social life.

General ethnology provides us with numerous examples of cases in which speakers of any particular language have taken over their present tongue from other speakers, partly or completely losing their own in the process. The language of a particular tribe or people is, therefore, not necessarily an indication of that people's stock-origin and relations, and any evidence of the kind can only be used with the greatest care. Nevertheless, I venture to affirm that, for the greater part of the population in this part of the world, language does in fact give some indication of the peoples' stock-origin. This conclusion is justified if we bear in mind an important social factor, namely, that nomadic, semi-nomadic, or forcibly settled tribes speaking a Turkic language can safely be regarded as being of Turkish origin. This is because the Turk entered history as a nomad; it follows that, if nomadic antecedents are still attributable to him and he still speaks a Turkic tongue, that is strong evidence of his Turkish stock.

With sedentary and town populations speaking Tajik it can as safely be accepted that they are of Iranian stock-origin.

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This conclusion of course requires qualification in the case of the relatively few sedentary and town populations speaking only a Turkic language: in that case language is not a safe criterion, for these 'Turks' may be, and often are, turkized Tajiks. History shows many instances of other peoples adopting Turkish ways, but until recently very few of the adoption by Turks of the dress of other civilizations.[1] Many more of the town-dwellers are bilingual in Uzbek and Tajik; in their case this bilingualism points even more strongly to the Tajik or mixed origin of the individuals concerned. It was to sedentary dwellers of this kind, whether bilingual or speaking only Tajik, that the true Turks formerly applied the pejorative appellation of 'Sart'.

At the same time, the Iranization of the Turkic tongues in the southern cities is an illustration of the mingling of the raindrops of which I have spoken.[1] Lastly, the bilingualism of the oasis-strip from Khojent to Bukhara identifies specific points at which the Turkish flood passed on to leave Iranian islands unswamped by the inundations from the steppe and the mountains.

Behind all the parade of ethnology and linguistics it is well to look always for the essential difference between the settled cultivators and townsmen of the scattered oases of Transoxiana and the nomads of the northern and the western steppe (now the Kazak and Turkmen country). That is the indispensable fact, without which no insight can be obtained into the tangle of events passing for history in Central Asia. It is the old antithesis of Cain and Abel, so clear to eastern thought, a distinction always before the local leaders, on whose minds it was indelibly impressed by the events of the Basmachi struggle of 1918–24. We shall see in the subsequent analysis of periods that the settled population, whatever its ethnic origin, was for centuries exposed to Persian influence and immigration from the south, and was indeed for the first three hundred years after the Muslim conquest actually controlled by Persian rulers. One result of this contact was an indoctrination with the

[1] A notable exception is the Indianization of the Turks who followed Babur to India, due partly to the conscious policy of his grandson Akbar, but mainly to the small infusion of Turkish blood into India's vast body.

1 [for metaphor, see cat. 116, pp 31-- Analyst]

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It is ironical that Babur's line should have come to be known in India as the Mughul dynasty! The truth, of course, is summed up in Barthold's phrase *Mongol turquisé*. The real lasting antithesis, owing little to ethnological differences between Turk and Mongol, is that which existed between the sedentary population of the oases and the nomads of the steppe.[1]

With Babur as guide I conclude that in this region the ethnic distinction of Turk and Mongol has had no ultimate meaning; for, even if much of the impulse for the migrations came from Mongolia, the movements set on foot were significantly Turkish. Who, then, were these Turkish tribes of the steppe who created a force which at least four times in history — under the Seljuks, under Chingiz, under Timur, and under the Ottomans, carried the banners of Central Asia into the heart of other continents?

Much interesting detail is forthcoming[2] as to the identity of the various Turkish tribes and their relationship with one another; but for the general reader this would obscure the canvas. The ramifications are endless and confused. But two names may be taken as typical of the whole — the Oghuz, the tribal ancestors of the warriors who carved out two empires, the Seljuk and the Ottoman, and the Kipchak who succeeded to the Oghuz in the northern steppe. The Oghuz are thus the fathers of the Western Turks and of the Turkmens, their remnant east of the Caspian; while the Kipchak are one of the main tribal components of the 'Kazak', true Uzbek and Nogai clans. The name Kipchak is to be found ranging across the steppe north of the Sir Darya from the Irtish to the Urals and beyond, and as far south as the Vale of Farghana. Barthold suggests that the migrations of the Oghuz may have been prompted by Kipchak pressure, itself set in motion by the Mongol threat from farther east. I take then the name Kipchak as a type of the shifting Turkish organizations which occupied

[1] Those desirous of pursuing this line of thought will find interesting material in Elias and Ross, Bib. I, 31. See also Bib. I, 13, pp. 37 and 67.

[2] Cf. Togan, *op. cit.* chap. ii, from p. 23 onwards for over sixty pages.

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the steppe between the sedentary kingdoms of Maveraunnahr and the Mongols of the east. It was into this reservoir that the Mongol river poured, only to raise its level and cause it to overflow. The range of the reservoir was roughly coincident with the present Soviet Republic of Kazakistan. When the seasons pressed and nomadic life became hard, the tribes would prey on the sedentary population. Conversely, their numbers were often increased by the accession of groups who had rebelled against the authority of the dynasties in the oases, preferring a rover's life to submission, and it was to such groups that the name Kazak [1] came later to be applied. The steppe offers freedom to the venturesome, and many elements at different times were fused in these wandering populations. Ethnically, the farther removed from the towns with their underlying Persian stock, the closer to the traditional Tatar, thick-bodied, small-eyed and with scanty hair. The Kipchak language was of the Turkic family. Many of Chingiz' soldiers were undoubtedly of this Turkish stock, and the Mongol way of life was slowly absorbed in that of the Turks, who were in a position to draw on the mixed Irano-Turkish culture of the sedentary populations.

It was these vagrants who would gather in loose confederations sometimes to plunder the resources of Maveraunnahr itself, sometimes in alliance with newcomers to sweep beyond Central Asia into farther fields.

As these processes worked themselves out, the various stocks crossed and mingled, joined and separated like the raindrops on the window. But, just as even today the nomad Turkish and Mongol cross can be seen in the typical Kazak, it is still possible to pick out in the sedentary population of the oases of Transoxiana a type which is in all respects, physical, mental and moral, at odds with the Kazak or the Turkmen of the steppe. The man of the oasis is often small-

[1] *Kazak* is an old Turkish word meaning a vagabond, and later a partisan or guerrilla. It means an outlaw who refuses to live a settled life, or who has fled from tyranny. Some have traced its derivation from *Kazmak*, to dig (but digging is just what Kazaks do not do), others from *Kaz*, a goose. Either derivation seems far-fetched. The word Cossack was taken from it and applied to the Russian who lived a similar life.